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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses some major theories of social and educational change (e.g., evolutionary theory, structural functional theory, systems theory, group conflict theory, and cultural revival and social movement theory), and delineates the identification and interpretation of variables relevant to an understanding of bilingual education within the framework of each particular theory. The basic premise of the paper is that each theory will identify differently the key variables and their relationships, and consequently the answers they seek will differ. (Author)

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Theoretical Perspectives on Bilingual Education Programs*

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What are the important theoretical and programmatic dimensions of bilingual programs, and what are the theoretical dimensions of the communities in which the programs exist? (From Project Abstract, National Institute of Education, 1977)

For the purposes of this paper, I would like to rephrase this question as follows:

1) What are the key independent variables or causal factors which influence bilingual education programs?[1]

2) What are the key dependent variables or outcomes of bilingual education programs?

3) What are some of the major intervening variables or factors modifying such outcomes?

Introduction

The major point of this paper is that there is no single answer to these questions, but rather that the identification of the "important theoretical dimensions," i.e. the independent variables, and the interpretation of outcomes depend on the worldview of the researcher and the particular theory he employs to explain and predict phenomena. In this paper I will attempt to outline some major theories of social and educational change and to delineate the identification and interpretation of variables of bilingual education within the framework of each particular theory. In so doing, I am drawing heavily on the work by R.G. Paulston (1976).

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*Revision of a report presented at the Conference on the Dimensions of Bilingual Education, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C., February 14-15, 1977.

As is obvious from a reading of the paper, I am much indebted to the thinking and writing of Rolland G. Paulston. I have gained much from our many discussions on the topic of this paper and of his Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change: A Typological Review, and I gratefully acknowledge his influence on my own thoughts.

I also owe thanks once more to Patricia Furey and Elaine Williams for their unflagging energy and skill in editorial assistance, both substantive and stylistic.

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[1]see next page

We can probably all agree on the basic phenomena which form the background to Title VII bilingual education programs in the United States and which gave rise to the original legislation of Title VII: there are a number of children from a low socioeconomic status (SES) background who speak no or poor English and who encounter massive school failure with consequent early school drop out and low integration into the economic life of the nation.[2] It is when we consider why this is so, what treatment these children should be accorded, and what outcomes should follow that considerable disagreement ensues. Such scholarly disagreement at times becomes public (see e.g. the 1976 issues of The Linguistic Reporter and The TESOL Newsletter; or the Linguistic Society of America's as well as the American Anthropological Association's censure of the work of Arthur Jensen) and divisive.

Although other fields of study have looked at scholarly strife within their disciplines from the notion of Kuhn's paradigm shift (1970), I know of no attempt to understand the dimensions of bilingual education from a conceptual framework of paradigms. By paradigms, Kuhn means "the way a scientific/professional community views a field of study, identifies appropriate problems for study, and specifies legitimate concepts and methods. He contends that:

> Men whose research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the same rules and standards . . . and continuation of a particular research tradition . . . paradigm is a criterion for choosing problems that, while the paradigm is taken for granted, can be assumed to have solutions. To a great extent, these are the only problems that the community will admit as scientific or encourage its members to undertake. A paradigm can even isolate the community from those socially important problems that are not reducible to puzzle form, because they cannot be stated in terms of the conceptual and instrumental tools the paradigm supplies (Kuhn cited in R. G. Paulston 1976:5).

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1 In this paper I am using the standard U. S. Office of Education definition of bilingual education: "Bilingual education is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well organized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures." (Many of the bilingual education programs in Europe cited by Fishman (1976) fall outside the scope of this definition.)

2 I recognize that there are numerous other types of bilingual education programs, (see e.g. the discussion of typologies in Fishman, 1976), but for the purposes of this paper I will draw primarily on the research of bilingual education in North America.

In other words, it is only through an examination of the various theoretical frameworks used to explain and predict the phenomena of bilingual education that we can put into perspective the conflicting or at times complementary research questions and the anticipated solutions as they relate to the dimensions of bilingual education.

R.G. Paulston, drawing on the literature of social and educational change, posits two major paradigms: the functional or "equilibrium" paradigm and the conflict paradigm (see Appendix A). Theories (which admittedly cross and overlap) that fall within the "equilibrium" paradigm are evolutionary and neo-evolutionary, structural-functionalist, and system analysis. Basically these theories are all concerned with maintaining society in an equilibrium through the harmonious relationship of the social components and they emphasize smooth, cumulative change. Theoretical approaches which fall within the conflict paradigm are group conflict theory, cultural revitalization theory, and an anarchistic-utopian approach. "Theories which cluster more or less within the conflict paradigm emphasize the inherent instability of social systems and the conflicts over values, resources, and power that follow as a natural consequence" (R.G. Paulston 1976:7). Major issues are economic conflict, conflicting value and cultural systems, and conflict arising from oppressive institutions and imperfect human nature.

Assuredly, all of these theoretical approaches are not equally represented in the attempts to delimit and comprehend the dimensions of bilingual education. Nevertheless, it is instructive to examine studies typical of each approach for their underlying assumptions, basic questions, and putative solutions in order to illustrate the basic premise of this paper, namely that each theory will identify differently the key variables and their relationships, and consequently the answers they seek will differ. Even at times when the question remains the same, for example, "identify the most effective conditions for educating children of limited English-speaking ability" (Work Statement), the goals and the means to those goals will vary according to the theoretical approach. For the purpose of illustration, I have identified a number of studies which most clearly exemplify a particular approach. Granted, a number of studies incorporate aspects from more than one theoretical framework, and on the whole I have tended to avoid such studies. Furthermore, a very large number of studies on bilingual education is purely descriptive and atheoretical; such studies I have ignored. It is readily seen then that this paper does not intend a review of the literature (for that, see Engle 1975; Fishman 1976; C.B. Paulston 1974a) but rather a selective analysis of a few template works.

THE EQUILIBRIUM PARADIGM

A. Evolutionary Theory

> Classical evolutionary theories are strongly influenced by Darwin's work on biological evolution and seek sociological analogues to the living organism (L. Ward, 1904; Parsons, 1964). They are characterized by notions of progress, by stages of development from lower- to higher-order forms. Society is viewed as an organism with specialized structures facilitating survival. Education,

> as an "integrative" structure, functions to maintain stability and changes from "simple" or "primitive" forms to more complex "modern" forms in response to change in other structures. Thus as societies "progress" or become increasingly differentiated (here the evolutionists borrow the biologists' exact terminology), educational systems come under increasing pressure to specialize and adapt (R.G. Paulston 1976:7).

The only theoretical approach relating to bilingual education which falls in the evolutionary category is the genetic theories of Jensen (1969), Herrnstein (1971), and others. In short, the geneticists account for the lack of school achievement by students from minority groups, as well as by those from lower SES background, on the ground of these students' hereditary inferior intelligence quotients (I.Q.). Few issues so well illustrate the paradigm clash as the debate over I.Q., and to illustrate, I would like to draw at length on Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer's critique (1975-76), written from a group conflict perspective, of both Jensen and his colleagues and of the structural-functionalists' position on this issue.

Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer (1975-76 - an adaptation of Bowles and Gintis, 1975) consider the educational system in the United States as a mechanism for the reproduction of the social division of labor and focus their inquiry on the legitimation of this division and on the process of assigning individuals to its various positions. "We say that a social process is legitimated when individuals are sufficiently convinced of its inevitability, desirability, or justness that united class action towards the transformation of the process is rendered infeasible" (p. 234). They examine this legitimation function within what they label technocratic-meritocratic ideology which, as they define it, corresponds fairly closely to the structural-functionalist position:

> The educational system legitimates economic inequality by providing an ostensibly open, objective and meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions. Indeed, the more meritocratic the educational process appears, the better it serves to legitimate inequality. For the educational system fosters and reinforces the belief that economic success depends on the possession of technical and cognitive skills -- skills which it is organized to provide in an efficient, equitable and unbiased manner on the basis of the meritocratic principle (p. 234).

They cite (p. 237) the conclusion that Davis and Moore reach in their highly influential "functional theory of stratification": "Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons" (Davis and Moore in Bendix and Lipset, 1966). Bowles, Gintis and Meyer go on to argue against such an interpretation: educational tracking based on competitive grading and objective test scores is only tangentially related to social efficiency. Nowhere are

the notions of meritocracy seen more clearly, they continue, than in the recent I.Q. debate between the geneticists and the structural-functionalists where it is assumed that I.Q. is an important indicator of economic success, an assumption the authors consider faulty.

The authors point out that the major periods of liberal educational reform have been marked by a lack of concern with genetically inherited characteristics when the major problem rather was perceived to be one of structuring an environment that would promote rather than retard individual growth. "Yet the demise of each liberal reform movement has been greeted by a genetic backlash: if improving the school environment does not achieve its elevated objectives, there must be something wrong with the kids" (p. 249). (I note in passing that many scholars and administrators worry that this is likely to be the reaction of the technocratic-meritocratic oriented Congress if the bilingual education programs don't show rapid improvement on competitive grading and objective test scores.)

And so Jensen argues in 1969 that the failure of compensatory education to raise scholastic achievement levels must be due to the hereditability of I.Q.[3]

> The assertions of Jensen, Herrnstein and others constituted a fundamental attack on the liberal reformist position. Yet the defense has been curiously superficial: the putative economic importance of I. Q. has remained undocumented by the genetic school and unchallenged by the environmentalists. . . . not one of their environmentalist critics has taken the economic importance of I. Q. any less for granted (p. 250).

Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer on the other hand claim , on the basis of their empirical data, that I.Q. is not an important cause of economic success and that "the intense debate on the heritability of I.Q. is thus largely irrelevant to an understanding of poverty, wealth, and inequality of opportunity in the United States" (p. 251). They go on to point out that the "modern liberal approach" is to attribute social class differences to "unequal opportunity"; i.e. the failures and successes of parents are passed onto their children via distinct learning and cultural environments. "The achievement of a more equal society merely requires that all youth be afforded the educational and other social conditions of the best and most successful" (p. 254), an assumption reminiscent of that behind Title VII. The liberals don't deal with I.Q. differences among whites (which the authors seem to accept) of different social class backgrounds nor do they question the causal role of I.Q. in getting ahead economically.

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3 The censure of Jensen's work by the members of the Linguistic Society of America at the annual conference business meeting in St. Louis 1971 provides us with a perfect example of a paradigm clash. The questions and the findings of Jensen's work were so unpalatable to the linguists that although only a handful of linguists present had actually read "How Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?", the overwhelming majority did not hesitate to condemn his work.

> Thus the proposition, adhered to by present day conservatives and liberals of past generations, that social classes sort themselves out on the basis of innate individual capacity to cope successfully in the social environment, and hence tend to reproduce themselves from generation to generation, is restored (p. 255).

The authors conclude by presenting data to support their major proposition: "the fact that economic success tends to run in the family arises almost completely independently from any inheritance of I.Q.; genetic or environmental" (p. 258). "The power and privilege of the capitalist class are often inherited, but not through superior genes" (p. 263). In other words, high SES is transmitted to the children of parents of high SES, and one mechanism of this transmittance is the school system.

We see then, on this particular issue, that although the three approaches - evolutionary (genetic school), structural-functionalist (technico-meritocratic liberals), and group conflict (Bowles, Gintis and Meyer) - recognize the same basic variables, they perceive a very different relationship between these same variables and, as well, their underlying assumptions vary widely.

The following chart may help clarify this point:

APPROACH	VARIABLES: Independent	Intervening	Dependent
EQUILIBRIUM:			
A. Evolutionary	I. Q.	Scholastic success	Economic success SES
	Assumption: I. Q. hereditary		
B. Structural-Functionalist	I. Q./Merit	Function of school to select according to merit in division of labor	Economic success SES
	Assumption: I. Q. by nurture (unequal opportunity); schools give equal chance to meritorious students		
CONFLICT			
Group Conflict	SES	Function of school to legitimize (unequally) division of labor	Economic success or lack of
	Assumption: I. Q. hereditary but irrelevant as a variable; schools function in the interest of the elites		

B. Structural Functional Theory

> Although the structural-functional, or S/F, framework is a discrete set of interrelated assumptions about values, norms, and appropriate questions and methods, it is to a considerable degree a twentieth-century version of evolutionary theory. But where the evolutionists placed primary emphasis on linked stages of socioeconomic and cultural development the S/F theorists focus on the homeostatic or balancing mechanisms by which societies maintain a "uniform state." Both theories view societies as essentially stable yet highly complex and differentiated. As the values embodied in institutions such as the educational sub-system are viewed as extremely durable, boundary exchanges between the sub-system and the environment will be equilibrating, i.e. they will tend toward balance (R. G. Paulston 1976:13).

Structural-functional theory, as exemplified by Merton (1957), Homans (1950), and Parsons (1951) (Larkin, 1970), has been the dominant theory of social change in American social sciences and has had a strong influence on the interpretation of educational systems and valid educational reform. I don't think that it is an exaggeration to say that the majority of writings on bilingual education fall under this category as I shall attempt to illustrate. Indeed, Fishman's paper under consideration (1976) was criticized by Nieves-Squires (1976) for its basically structural-functional orientation.[4] This approach tends to be the position (almost always tacitly assumed) of the ESL proponents in the ESL vs. BE controversy. And it is most certainly the position of the U.S. Government.

In the Bilingual Education Act, the U.S. Congress recognizes the problems of limited English-speaking children from low income families and spells out the measures to be taken in order to cope with these problems:

> the Congress declares it to be the policy of the United States, in order to establish equal educational opportunity for all children (A) to encourage the establishment and operation, where appropriate, of educational programs using bilingual educational practices, techniques, and methods, and (B) . . . to provide financial assistance to . . . educational agencies . . . in order to . . . develop and carry out such programs, . . . which are designed to meet the educational needs of such children; and of demonstrating effective ways of providing, for children of limited English-speaking ability, instruction designed to enable them, while using their native language, to achieve competence in the English language (Geffert et al. 1975:13).

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[4] It needs to be pointed out that individual scholars cannot be typed according to specific theories, but only individual works can be typed. So Larkin is careful to point out that Homans (1961) "has moved away from structural functionalism to a more social-psychological point of view as indicated by the content of his book, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms" (1970:112). Furthermore, many scholars write from a viewpoint which incorporates elements from both equilibrium and conflict theories; certainly an alternative interpretation of Fishman's paper (1976).

The assumptions are clearly recognizable: (1) the lack of social and economic success on the part of these minority groups is due to a) "unequal opportunity" (cf. Bowles and Gintis) as manifest through different language, different culture, and different learning styles,[5] and b) to a lack of scholastic success as a group[6] because of poor English-speaking ability; (2) with the provision of English skills, merit and I.Q. will lead, through scholastic skills gained in a "meaningful education", to social and economic success.

The immediate objective of bilingual education programs is then given: to equalize opportunity for children from limited English-speaking families by compensatory training in English where such training can be theoretically interpreted as a balancing mechanism to maintain the equilibrium of society, for in this approach "intra-system conflict is usually viewed as pathological, as an indicator of systematic breakdown" (R.G. Paulston 1976:13). Larkin, writing from a structural-functional perspective, points out that in a technological society such as ours, "equilibrium is maintained by the educational institution" (1970:113), whose major function is seen as the socialization of youth. According to Larkin, the socialization process is two dimensional. The instrumental aspect is the provision of technical competence: education is to provide the students with salable skills (of which, for our purposes, English language proficiency can be seen as the major skill). The expressive aspect is a "normative orientation in harmony with the values of society" (p. 113), or in the terminology more frequently found in the literature on bilingual education, facilitating assimilation into the dominant, mainstream culture. But to the S/F theorists, the value transmission function of the schools serves a wider purpose than just assimilation, namely that of "pattern maintenance," in Parson's terms:

> According to Parsons, provision for pattern maintenance is a functional prerequisite of all societies:
>
> > . . . the social system . . . depends on the requisite minimum of 'support' from each of the other systems. It must, that is, have a sufficient proportion of its component actors adequately motivated to act in accordance with the requirements of its rolesystem, positively in abstention from too much disruptive, i. e. deviant, behavior (Parsons, 1959:27).
>
> The expressive aspect of the socialization process is socialization of youth to a social order by instilling values necessary for the continuation of the social system (Larkin 1970:113).

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5 Cf. the wording of the Supreme Court's Lau vs. Nichols opinion "There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education" (Geffert, 1975:8).

6 Note the Court's insistence on the group; they are not concerned with individual failure: "For me (Mr. Justice Blackmun), numbers are at the heart of this case, and my concurrence is to be understood accordingly" (Geffert, 1975:10).

While this view of the function of schools is reminiscent of Bowles and Gintis' legitimation process, the two approaches differ profoundly in their attitude toward such a process. The S/F proponents see this process as highly functional in ensuring that the most qualified persons fill the most important positions, and they "contend that inequality is not only inevitable, but necessary and beneficial to all since individual survival is contingent on the survival and well-being of society" (R.G. Paulston 1976:13). Parsons no doubt would consider Bowles and Gintis' viewpoint as "too much disruptive." The latter would be likely to agree with Hill-Burnett that:

> The key to access to a position is not the competence of the performer but the answer to the question of who has authority to judge whether the performance meets the standards, and to the question of how the judge is linked to the other arrangements in the society for maintaining a given constellation of differentiated resources and power over resources (1976:37)

One is reminded of the debate in bilingual education over teacher training and competencies. The major issues, on the surface, seem to be language profieiency in the L_1 (mother tongue, here minority vernacular) and L_2 (target language, here English) and professional educational training in order to meet State requirements for teacher certification. But the question of proficiency masks the real question which concerns ethnic group membership; is the teacher Anglo or member of the L_1 ethnic group? Bilingual education proponents typically claim that teachers should be members of the same cultural group as the students and tend to ignore the teachers' proficiency in English as an important qualification. Their position, whether theoretical or not, tends to be one of conflict orientation, frequently tending toward utopian ideology. ESL proponents, on the other hand, typically insist on discussing issues at the level of method and technique, a characteristic of the S/F approach. They see fluency in English and a thorough training in the techniques of ESL as the major requirement amongst the competencies of a teacher of limited English-speaking children. They tend to exemplify Larkin's points that 1) innovation is threatening as it temporarily upsets the equilibrium and 2) any pressure for change will be met by resistance from those office holders who have vested interests.

Access to teaching jobs in bilingual education programs becomes very much a question of "who has the authority to judge whether the performance meets the standard." The standards of course are determined by the perceived goals of bilingual education. The U.S. government and its legislators officially conceive of the goal of bilingual education as assimilation of minority group members through transitional bilingual education programs where the emphasis can be interpreted from the viewpoint of S/F theory as maintaining vertical equilibrium "by translation of societal needs and goals into institutional goals. In turn, the institutions must be organized to efficiently and effectively implement these goals and satisfy societal needs" (Larkin 1970:113).

Efficiently and effectively are indeed the key terms for the major concerns of the research on bilingual education from a S/F perspective. As an ERIC search will quickly demonstrate, there is a pervasive technocratic concern with methods, techniques, curriculum and teacher training, no doubt partially because these types of projects tend to get funded

by the Office of Education. After a perusal of the literature on bilingual education as found in ERIC or in doctoral dissertations, one cannot avoid coming away with a vague feeling that the most important objectives of these programs are for the children to increase their standardized scores on tests in language arts, mathematics and self concept; to demonstrate that teaching in the mother tongue results in the more efficient learning of English.

While the research which R.G. Paulston discusses, whether of equilibrium or conflict theory orientation, is concerned primarily with social or educational change at the national level (Parsons' (1961) societal and institutional levels), the majority of research and writing on bilingual education, especially recent work in North America, tends to be at the programmatic-operational level. The research typical of the S/F approach usually treats the bilingual education programs as the independent variable, as the causal factor which accounts for certain subsequent results, for certain behaviors in children. One problem with such research is that these studies carry in and of themselves virtually no generalizability to other programs, as Mackey (1972) and Macnamara (1972) are careful to point out. Nowhere is this problem seen more clearly than in a comparison of the S/F oriented research on the Title VII Bilingual Education programs in the United States with the research on the immersion programs in Canada. Many descriptions and comparisons of these programs exist (Andersson and Boyer, 1970; Cohen and Swain, 1976; John and Horner, 1971; C.B. Paulston, 1975a, 1976; Swain, 1972; Swain and Bruck, 1976; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975; etc.) and need not be repeated here. Basically, the Title VII programs are for lower class children from socially stigmatized ethnic minority groups; the immersion programs are typically attended by middle class children from the Anglo majority, a group in social and economic power.

On the surface, both sets of studies show great similarity in research designs: both sets treat instruction as the independent variable; both sets tend to recognize I.Q., age and sex as intervening variables and, when feasible, match or control for these variables. Presumably the researchers also recognize the importance of merit (personality factors such as industry, perseverence, motivation, etc.), but as a formal variable in research design, merit tends to be ignored, and indeed Swain (1976a) laments that the kind of psychometric data these studies collect masks individual achievement.[7] The major dependent variable or program outcome for both sets of studies is scholastic skills, primarily proficiency in the two languages (as measured by standardized tests in language arts) and in mathematics. Other additional dependent variables like cognitive development and self-concept can be found in many studies.

Because of their similarity of research design, of identically labelled variables in the same basic relationship, generalizations are frequently made from one set of studies to the other, or to be exact, from the Canadian studies to the U.S. children and to other minority group children as well. The Canadian immersion findings are often cited as a rationale against bilingual education for minority group members.

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[7] One conclusion reached at the Center for Applied Linguistics' series of seminars on bilingual education was that classroom observation by informed participant-observers is a necessary counterpoint in research to psychometric data, see especially Hatch, 1976. See also Churchill, 1976.

It is important therefore to examine how these studies differ, even though they share the same basic S/F perspective, in their initial motivation, in the selection of relevant assumptions and in long range goals. The fact that these issues are rarely made explicit or discussed in these studies, can be considered as an S/F characteristic to minimize, if not avoid, intra-system conflict, as an attempt to seek a balancing mechanism to maintain a "uniform state" through adaptive change.

Although both the U.S. and the Canadian studies are concerned with language proficiency in the L_1 and L_2, the interest in L_2 acquisition and proficiency stems from a widely disparate motivation. The U.S. studies (see e.g. C.B. Paulston, 1976 , Appendix) attempt to demonstrate that children who are first taught to read in the L_1 will eventually read better in the L_2 than similar children in monolingual English programs and also that these children will achieve a higher proficiency in the L_2 through the medium of their mother tongue than do individual children who go directly into an L_2 curriculum ("submersion" programs in Lambert's terms; for a discussion of the difference between immersion and submersion programs, see Cohen and Swain, 1976). The Canadian studies, on the other hand, undertake to demonstrate that initial reading in the L_2 (i.e. initial literacy) will have no negative consequences on either later reading or language arts skills in the L_1; they also seek to demonstrate that the L_2 proficiency of the children in immersion programs is superior to that found in traditional second language programs.

Not surprisingly, different assumptions motivate the undertaking of the two sets of research studies. These assumptions are rarely spelled out explicitly as assumptions but are rather accepted axiomatically or tacitly taken for granted. We need therefore to examine these assumptions -- and the long range goals -- of the two sets of studies in order to better be able to interpret and maybe even generalize from the research findings.

The major basic assumption which underlies the U.S. Title VII programs is that of "unequal opportunity" and the belief that bilingual education helps equalize such shortcomings of opportunity. Andersson and Boyer outline some long-range implications for society:

> . . . so national expansion of bilingual schooling has certain implications for society as a whole. As suggestive of others, we mention the following: . . . A concern by all Americans for the elimination of poverty, based on the realization that the educational improvement of the poor (which include many speakers of other languages who are presently handicapped in English) helps to raise the socioeconomic level of the population. A higher income level can in turn benefit education, setting an upward spiral (1970:144).

They continue by looking at the experience of foreign aid:

> Jacoby defines 'development' as 'a complex socio-political-economic process whereby a people of a country progress from a static traditional mode of life toward a modern dynamic society' (1969:5). The similarities between this complex problem and the educational problem with which we are concerned in this book are striking (Andersson & Boyer, 1970:145).

Such statements are the hallmark of the liberal structural-functional position. Poor people from traditional ways of life will progress (cf. the evolutionist position) to higher socioeconomic levels through educational improvement. These assumptions are echoed by the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

> Following is a discussion of how bilingual bicultural education provides equal educational opportunity. Emphasis is placed on the most important elements in any educational program: fostering self concept and developing cognition, language expression, reading, and English skills (1975:30).

We have a Supreme Court ruling that equal educational opportunity implies partial education in the mother tongue. Similar to the unquestioned relationship between I.Q. and economic success which Bowles and Gintis discuss, I know of no research which investigates whether equal educational opportunity as manifest through bilingual education programs really leads to raised socio-economic status. It is a major assumption of bilingual education, but among structural-functional research it remains not only untested but also unquestioned -- it is a question outside the paradigm.

The second major assumption is the importance of the culture contact situation in the schools. The very definition of bilingual education (see page 132) acknowledges the importance of the mother tongue culture: "Bilingual education . . . includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue . . . a legitimate pride in both cultures." From this assumption follows the emphasis that the teacher be from the same ethnic background as the children: "One way bilingual bicultural education further enhances self concept is by utilizing language minority teachers to reinforce the child's background and culture" (U.S. Office of Civil Rights, 1975:39). Consequently, the ethnic identity of the teacher is occasionally a sub-variable under the independent variable instruction.

From this assumption as well follows the interest in what is commonly called cross-cultural communication (although the focus often is on miscommunication). Other closely similar areas of interest and investigation include communicative competence (Hymes, 1972; C.B. Paulston, 1974), socio-linguistic competence (Ervin-Tripp, 1973:293), interactional competence (Mehan, 1972) and social interaction (Grimshaw, 1973), all of which have in common the focus on the social meaning of language, on the social rules of language use, "the systematic sets

of social interactional rules" in Grimshaw's terms (1973:109). Although most research on symbolic interaction (Goffman, 1959, 1961, Garfinkel, 1967; Cicourel, 1970) in bilingual programs is written from a conflict perspective, there is found in many S/F studies a concern, though rarely studied systematically, that teachers may misinterpret their minority students' behavior because of contrasting interactional rules as in, e.g. the use of space, eye contact, voice level, etc. and in permitted speech acts, like types of questions. There is also the concern voiced that Anglo teachers may allow any kind of aberrant behavior from minority students out of misplaced cultural tolerance because they don't know what the acceptable norms are.

Future research is likely to give increased importance to the area of communicative competence because it not only is of interest to those whose primary concern lies in the interaction between members of different cultures, but also holds significance for theoretical issues in language acquisition. A current assumption about L_2 acquisition is that language must be used for purposes of communication if it is to be well learnt, and a number of classroom techniques have been worked out which incorporate social interactional rules of the L_2 into classroom practices (Appelgate, 1975; Holmes and Brown, 1976; Jacobson, 1976; C.B. Paulston and Bruder, 1976 ; White, 1974).

One elusive assumption of U.S. bilingual programs is that one method will eventually be found to be more effective than others, and studies occasionally incorporate method as well as medium under the independent variable instruction. We know surprisingly little about methods of language teaching in elementary bilingual programs compared with what we know about methods of teaching adults. Because of the S/F definition of the problem as one of limited English speaking ability and of the perceived treatment as one of instruction, there is a pervasive tendency to look for solutions to problems within the programs, and future research is most likely to investigate methods of bilingual instruction more carefully than in the past, where medium of instruction has been the major variable of instruction.

Two less influential assumptions remain. S/F research tends to take for granted that ability and merit influence the attainment of scholastic skills and that once equal opportunity has been provided for by bilingual education, such ability will result in success in school. Research designs therefore tend to neutralize such causal influence on the findings by treating I.Q., age, and sex (sex is subsumed under merit as girls are perceived to be stronger motivated, harder working, etc.) as intervening variables and where possible control for such influence by matching groups or by statistical techniques.

The other assumption holds that there is some relationship between language and cognition. Language is believed to be the "vehicle for complex thinking" (Finocchiaro and King, 1966) and the necessity to use the language the children know best then becomes axiomatic (U.S. Office of Civil Rights, 1975:44). But the section on "Cognitive and Language Development" (pp. 41-47) is characteristic of other writings on this topic in bilingual education; it contains not one single

reference to empirical work on cognitive development of children in bilingual programs. This topic remains poorly explored in these studies; the Scandinavian studies, the majority of which are in the S/F approach, are in sharp contrast with their exploration of the possible consequences of semilingualism on cognitive development (Loman, 1974; Skutnabb-Kangas and P. Toukomaa, 1976). My personal suspicion is that the question of language and cognition is perceived by many researchers as being outside the paradigm. The earlier studies on bilingualism and I.Q. (Darcy, 1953) still rankle, and the topic of language and cognition is frequently dismissed with vague comments on the invalidity of the instruments used in such research.

To sum up, the S/F research on bilingual education in the United States is characterized by two major assumptions, "unequal opportunity" and "cultural diversity" and I have attempted to show how these assumptions contribute to give structure to the research studies. Two additional factors which influence the research are 1) the majority of researchers on bilingual education are either educators or social scientists drawing primarily on linguistics, anthropology, and sociology, and 2) the perceived long range goals are those of harmonious integration[8] into the larger society by equalizing opportunity.

The Canadian immersion programs (see Swain, 1976c, for a bibliography) are very different from the Title VII programs. The long-range goals of the immersion programs especially outside of Quebec, as perceived by most parents, are maintenance of the family SES quo, and, because of Canadian legislation vis à vis language, they see bilingualism in English/French as a necessary condition for their children to compete successfully in the job market. There were other motivations as well:

> Some members of the group had generally more "instrumental" reasons for wishing their children to be bilingual. They wished the continuing progress and success of their children in a province progressively becoming dominated by the French fact. Others considered bilingualism a personal asset for cultural, intellectual, and social reasons -- the so-called "integrative" motivation. All were concerned with French-English relations in the province, at a time when these were not yet making headlines (Melikoff, 1972:221).

The Canadian researchers, the majority of whom are psychologists, have tended to slight social factors in their research and to minimize the potential conflict situation between the English and French speaking groups, but they do acknowledge that "there is no doubt that the language policy at both federal and provincial levels of Canadian government is helping to provide incentive for English-Canadian parents to enroll their children in French immersion programs" (Cohen and Swain, 1976:49).

From the difference in long range goals follows difference in the underlying assumptions. Since the children in the immersion programs come from the socially and economically dominant Anglo group (Lieberson,

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8 By integration, I mean either economic incorporation or cultural assimilation, in Schermerhorn's terms (1970).

1970), who have managed perfectly well in the English medium schools, all notions of "unequal opportunity" become simply irrelevant.

Similarly, the notions of "cultural diversity" are irrelevant. No one is concerned that Anglo ideo-cultural behavior might become stigmatized and held against the children by their teachers. The Anglo parents, children, and researchers take their own culture for granted, and in the Canadian literature there is no counterpart to the writings on ethnic minority groups' culture and behavior in the schools which we find in the United States (Pialorsi, 1974; Turner, 1973). Many programs are housed in Anglo schools and in fact, the children in class function in French with the communicative competence of English; i.e. they are not expected to give up their social interactional ways of speaking, their cultural ways of being:

> As a trivial example, in a class I visited, in answer to a question from the teacher the children waved their hands and shouted je sais, je sais (in direct translation from English).[9] A French Canadian child would have said moi, moi as Guy Dumas pointed out to me later. The children were not corrected (C.B. Paulston, 1976 :20).

Nor is there any emphasis on the target culture to compare with that which we find in the United States. The definition of bilingual education in Swain (1972) contrasts clearly with the American in that there is no mention of culture:

> Bilingual education can be defined as schooling provided fully or partly in a second language with the object in view of making students proficient in the second language while, at the same time, maintaining and developing their proficiency in the first language and fully guaranteeing their education development (From the "Introduction" by H.H. Stern, p. 1).

Nowhere is this perceived irrelevance of "cultural diversity" seen more clearly than in the teacher variable. As we saw in the Title VII studies, the ethnic membership of the teacher is occasionally included as a variable under instruction; I don't know of a single Canadian study of the immersion programs that investigates teacher ethnicity as a variable. One reason is that there is no concern about the teacher's cultural background as long as he is a fluent speaker of French; the majority of classrooms I have visited have had non-native Canadians as teachers: Belgian, Moroccan, French, etc. rather than French Canadians. In fact, the speech of French Canadians is occasionally criticized; to illustrate, after a classroom visit, I recall my colleague disdaining the use of the calque attaque de coeur instead of the "proper" crise cardiaque and worse, the use of a masculine adjectival -al suffix in the plural. Clearly, the program goal is linguistic

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[9] In the sense of "please call on me."

competence in standard French, not communicative competence in Canadian French.[10]

The Anglo Canadians do expect the children to show enhanced cultural tolerance-understanding for the Franco-Canadians through the increasing knowledge of French with an emphasis on the harmonious balanced whole.[11] The only one to question the relationship between French proficiency and French culture-tolerance is the usual bête noire Macnamara (whose work I make no attempt to typify):

> And the average English Canadian's understanding of French Canadians will have to become a lot deeper and less bigoted than it is at present. . . It is unlikely that the mutual trust, sympathy, understanding, and friendship of the two linguistic groups will be achieved by schools alone. . . This probably dooms the enterprise to failure. It may even be more sinister. It may tend to exploit the weakest sector of society, the sector least likely to resist (1972:8).

This quotation from Macnamara serves as a clear contrast; his assumptions are in profound opposition to those characteristic of the S/F approach.

The formal research primarily seeks to tap the implications which follow from the major assumption underlying the immersion programs: a second language can be learned fluently in the school only if it is used as a medium of instruction, as a means to an end, rather than studied as a subject, as an end in itself. Consequently, the children are taught from the beginning in the L_2 in language art skills programs similar to those for native speaking children. The extensive testing, primarily by means of standardized tests, which is basically what the immersion research consists of, was undertaken to assure parents (the programs are voluntary) and administrators that the immersion programs work.

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10 (Editor's comment: It is unfortunate that Paulston's visits to immersion programs have not included programs in operation in Ottawa, Montreal, and other Canadian cities than Toronto. My impression, based on observation in the classrooms and contact with administrators, is that the vast majority of teachers are French-Canadians, and that program goals include both linguistic competence and communicative competence in French. In discussion with Paulston, she agreed that "Clearly, the program goal is linguistic competence in standard French, not communicative competence in Canadian French," is an oversimplification of a complex set of program goals.--M.S.)

11 Actually, the St. Lambert children do not demonstrate this trend: ". . . this difference . . . (views of French Canadians were generally more favorable amongst the experimental group than amongst English controls) did not reach reliably significant proportions" (Bruck and Swain, 1976:491). After seven years, they can only talk about trends in desired directions. Genesee (1974) found no difference between the immersion group and the control group.

> There is no question at all about the efficacy of the Canadian immersion programs, and if anything, the amazing dexterity and charm of the children as they negotiate in French get lost in the published data, (C. B. Paulston 1976 :20; see also e.g. the St. Lambert study on the proto-type program, Lambert and Tucker, 1972).

We see then that although the U.S. and Canadian research studies are similar in that they see instruction, especially medium of, as the independent variable and scholastic skills as the dependent variable; they vary in the order of introducing medium of instruction so that the Canadian programs reverse the order of the American $L_1 \rightarrow L_2$ to $L_2 \rightarrow L_1$. The Canadian programs eschew the ESL approach, i.e. here FSL (French as a Second Language) techniques, in favor of basic language arts training[12] and consider cultural diversity as an irrelevant variable; consequently neither method nor teacher appears as a design variable in the Canadian studies.

We also find the familiar assumptions of a relationship between language and 1) cognition and 2) I.Q., age, and sex. In my opinion, the Canadian studies are much more interesting than the American in their work on language and cognition, presumably, I should imagine, because the researchers are not unduly worried about adverse results. Cummins' work (1976) is especially worth citing. He speculates that the lower level of verbal intelligence by the bilingual subjects in the earlier studies (Darcy, 1953) "may be a reflection of the fact that they are likely to

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12 For the record, it should be pointed out that the perception of this dichotomy (Tucker, 1967; Greenfield, 1976) is a considerable simplification of fact. It would be more correct to say that the immersion programs do not incorporate the ESL techniques that we associate with the audio-lingual method, such as oral drills. But the early classes abound with ESL techniques from the direct method as well as from a cognitive code approach. To illustrate, in one third grade, a boy came up to me and said in perfect French: "Madame, could you tell me if this (pointing to a word) is a verb?" His task was a controlled composition in which he had to rewrite all the present tense verbs in the imperfect. He had just gotten stung on souvent and wanted to make sure this time. The point is of course that controlled composition, where the teaching point is a specific grammar pattern, is an ESL technique par excellence.

The language teaching specialist in me cannot but wish for some systematic research on this aspect of the immersion programs. None exists, and these comments are based on class visits, discussions with teachers, administrators and researchers and a familiarity with the literature.

The topic is urgent in the United States where I suspect many programs flounder, between audio-lingual techniques for adults used on children and the "concurrent translation" approach which is likely to be directly detrimental to learning (Legarreta-Marcaida, 1975). It is my considered opinion that the American programs stand to benefit substantially from the Canadian experience, just at the level of ESL techniques. Therefore, it would be a great pity if no one investigated the immersion programs from this angle because they were generally considered not to incorporate any E/FSL techniques. They certainly do, and we need to know a lot more about them.

have had less than native-like competence in both their languages"(p. 36). Cummins hypothesizes that "the level of linguistic competence may mediate the effects of his bilingual learning experience on cognitive growth" (p. 37).

In other words, the bilingual's level of competence in L_1 and L_2 is posited:

> as an intervening variable in the causal chain between cognitive development and more fundamental social, attitudinal, educational and cognitive factors. Specifically, there may be a threshold level of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive deficits and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to affect his cognitive functioning. Bilingualism and unilingualism can both be thought of as instruments which individuals use to operate upon their environments. Because of its greater complexity, the bilingual instrument is more difficult to master, but once mastered has greater potential than the unilingual instrument for promoting cognitive growth (p. 37).

This direction of research looks exceedingly promising and may eventually account for a number of contradictory research findings.

To sum up. Although the U.S. and Canadian research studies frequently identify the same variables from the range of phenomena within bilingual education and see them in similar relationships, these studies illustrate the point that underlying assumptions so strongly influence the research design, the questions, and the findings that one cannot at this stage of the research extrapolate from the results of one set of studies to the other.

Although I don't deny that we need case studies, I have my reservations. I do agree with Merrill Swain on the value of psychometric evaluation research which looks at the bilingual education programs as the independent variable (1976a:1):

> It can provide essential feedback to the programs themselves often resulting in program change. Furthermore, such evaluations have provided individuals considering the implementation of a bilingual program with information about the results of a variety of options, one of which may be applicable to their community given their own particular needs and characteristics. And finally, although a single evaluation carries little generalizability in and out of itself, "such case studies are necessary if we are to begin to develop a theory of bilingual education which will enable us to generalize the evidence from the individual studies and to account for their often contradictory findings" (Paulston, 1975b: 5).

My reservations as far as all these studies go are very simple and probably fairly characteristic of the conflict orientation:

> . . .unless we try in some way to account for the socio-historical, cultural, and economic-political factors which lead to certain forms of bilingual education, we will never understand the consequences of that education. In other words, we need research which looks at bilingual education as the intervening[13] or dependent variable, and we don't have it.
>
> It is simply that medium of instruction in school programs is an intervening variable rather than the causal variable as it is always treated in all these studies on reading achievement by children from ethnic groups and languages in contact. By merely examining intervening variables, with no (or little) attempt to identify independent variables, one cannot hope to achieve any similarity and consensus in the research findings, as indeed we don't have (C. B. Paulston, 1975 b:370, 373).

However interesting I find the evaluation research on the bilingual education programs, I find -- and that is my particular bias -- that there are other questions that I consider more important (see Appendix B).

C. Systems Theory

> Bushnell and Rappaport's (1971) work, Planned Change in Education: A Systems Approach, offers an illustrative summary of assumptions and "constructive alternatives" underlying the claims of systems theory to hold promise for a "more rapid adaptation of our public schools to the demands of a modern society."
>
> From the systems perspective, the need for reform arises with evidence of system "malfunctioning." Using the example of a stockmarket broker, Bushnell and Rappaport present an "information flow model" to provide the structure or network of communication flow between all participants in the school system from students to taxpayers" (R. G. Paulston, 1976:16):

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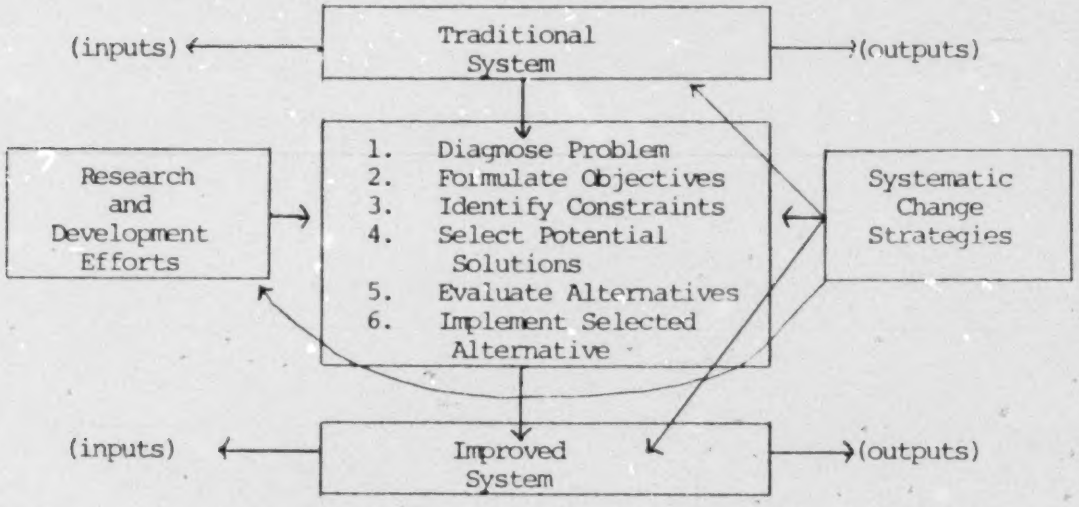
13 Wallace Lambert points out that I use the term "intervening variable" differently from how it is used by psychologists, and he is right. To psychologists, "Intervening variable is a term invented to account for internal and directly unobservable psychological processes that in turn account for behavior. . . . An intervening variable is an "in-the-head" variable. It cannot be seen, heard, or felt. It is inferred from behavior" (Kerlinger, 1973). Social scientists tend not to use the term (Pelto, 1970; Sjöberg and Nett, 1968) but Schermerhorn (1970) does in the sense of "contextual variables that modify the effects of independent variables" (p. 15) and which help account for the conditions for and the modes of integration of ethnic groups; intervening variables in this sense are perfectly observable variables, like cultural congruence. I use the term in this latter meaning.

A RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR PLANNED EDUCATIONAL CHANGE



Source: Bushnell (1971), p. 10

The problem of educational change from this perspective is essentially one of "rationalizing existing education systems through the introduction of innovations that respond both to new social needs and to the need for greater efficiency in ongoing functions" (R.G. Paulston, 1976:17), an apt definition of bilingual education from the viewpoint I have so far discussed it. The difficulty with the systems approach is that it sacrifices reality to "scientific rigor." There is rarely any attempt to identify and operationalize contextual variables like power relationships, ethnic culture conflicts, disagreements over values and the like, "which might question the conservative notions of equilibrium and consensus inherent in the functionalist-cum-systems perspective" (R.G. Paulston, 1976:20).

The literature on bilingual education from a systems perspective is remarkably sparse. Tucker (1976a) may occasionally sound like a system analyst, but that is probably just a reflection of the primarily S/F approach to immersion research in Canada. An ERIC search turned up one single hit, Prochnow (1973). In the abstract we are told that the report follows the suggested U.S. Office of Education scope:

> 1) Introductory and general comments concerning the quality and significance of the final evaluation report; 2) detailed critique of the product and process evaluation conducted for operation and management, based on an assessment of the instruments used, data collection procedures, data analysis techniques, and data analysis presentation; 3) findings and observations as a result of on-site visits and examinations of evaluative data with a summary of consistencies and discrepancies; 4) recommendations for evaluation design revision; and 5) the need for program modification.

Friedman's criticism of an equilibrium model in economics seems equally appropriate to bilingual education:

> . . . the model may be useful for analysis, but it ceases to be pertinent when it is converted into a normative rule for planning. To be meaningful, every social norm must be brought into concrete relation with the historical conditions of collective life. That static equilibrium mode, valid only within a parameter of carefully stated and artificial assumptions, is wholly inappropriate by this standard (1963:72).

Systems theory has not in the past been a viable approach in research in bilingual education. This section could easily have been omitted except that I wanted to point out the shortcomings of this approach so that also in the future it remain not salient in our concerns.

D. "Distressed Liberal" Genre

R.G. Paulston closes the section on the equilibrium paradigm with a discussion of what he terms "the largely atheoretical 'distressed liberal' genre which, while essentially S/F in world view, calls for basic educational reform as a strategy for meliorative social reform" (1976:24). This type of work avoids a discussion of the role of power and conflict, sees inequities and inefficiencies of the schools as the result of bureaucratic, teacher or parent mindlessness or ignorance but not as a consequence of social-class self-interest leading to structured inequality.

> U.S. government agencies, foundations, and financial institutions, intervening both at home and abroad in the interests of poor people, continue to share the basic assumption of this genre, i.e. that educational reform will eventually lead to some enlightened, relatively conflict-free way to more equitable, democratic social relations and conditions (R.G. Paulston, 1976:24).

The writings on bilingual education are amply represented in this category and we have all probably at one time or another fallen into this camp. I have discussed (1971) some of the concerns which can lead a linguist into this sort of a position. Because of the basically atheoretical nature of this genre of writing, I think we should realize that it tends to weaken the research base and to trivialize scholarly support of bilingual education.

The Equilibrium Paradigm: Conclusion

Bilingual education in the United States is necessarily closely tied to concerns of ethnic groups. We have lately experienced a resurgence of ethnic awareness which brings into question the goal of complete assimilation for these ethnic groups. Elazar and Friedman (1976) discuss this new development of ethnic affirmation quite perceptively. They point out that ethnic identity has often been seen as a problem that must

somehow be overcome. Social scientists have often considered religious and ethnic groups as "vestiges of a primitive past that are destined to disappear" (1976:4), but recent "writers on the 'new pluralism' have argued that racial, religious, and ethnic groups are a basic component of our social structure" (p. 5) who affect our institutions and are at times more powerful than economic forces in their influence.

What Elazar and Friedman are discussing in their study of ethnic groups, is in fact a paradigm shift from equilibrium theory to a conflict perspective and some recent work on bilingual education reflects that shift. As the S/F framework Larkin (1970) discusses would predict, there is considerable tension accompanying the implementation of bilingual education. However, equilibrium theory is not designed to deal with such conflict.

> With its limited ability to include, let alone explain, conflict in the calculus of change efforts, the equilibrium paradigm must now seriously compete with alternative views of social and educational reform that see change and instability as constant and unavoidable characteristics of all social organisms and relations (R.G. Paulston, 1976:24).

THE CONFLICT PARADIGM

> Studies of socio-economic, cultural, and educational change using variants of conflict theory have increased significantly during the past decade or so (Coser, 1956; Dahrendorf, 1959; Zeitlin, 1968; Allardt, 1971; Carnoy, 1974; Collins, 1971; Smelser, 1971; Boudon, 1974; Dreir, 1975). This work may be divided into three types of conflict "theory" -- i.e., (1) Marxist and group conflict explanations of socio-economic conflict, (2) cultural revival or revitalization explanations of value conflict, and (3) the somewhat mixed bag of anarchist and anarchist-utopian explanations of institutional conflict and constraints on human development (R. G. Paulston, 1976:26).

A. Group Conflict Theory

> . . . all variants of conflict theory reject the evolutionists' and functionists' image of society as a system of benign self-regulating mechanisms where maintenance of social equilibrium and harmony is "functional" and disruption of harmony is "dysfunctional" . . . Formal education is here viewed as a part of the ideological structure which a ruling class controls to maintain its dominance over the masses, and because formal education is dependent on the dominant economic and political institutions, it cannot be a primary agent of social transformation . . . it can only follow changes in the imperatives of the economic and political social order (Gramsci, 1957; Zachariah, 1975) (R. G. Paulston, 1976:26).

Studies of bilingual education using aspects or variants of conflict theory have also increased during the last few years. The definition of the problem from a conflict perspective is no longer unequal opportunity per se but rather one of structured inequity, of "persistence of poverty, intractability of inequality of incomes and inequality of economic and social opportunity" (Bowles et al., 1976:263). Unequal opportunity, the existence of which is most certainly not denied, tends to be seen as a result of a condition of inequity rather than as a cause of school failure.

Consequently, in conflict-oriented studies the solutions to the educational problems of bilingual programs are rarely sought in terms of technocratic efficiency; in fact, they are rarely sought within the programs themselves but rather are seen to lie outside the programs:

> I think we must admit that within the entire social situation, different language teaching methods account for very little of achieved language proficiency (C.B. Paulston, 1975a:26).

It is in this context that we need to interpret the significance of Fishman's discussion of "social dimensions": "very few (empirical studies) have focused upon particular social parameters and explored their relevance to bilingual education across schools and/or across communities" (Fishman, 1976:22b). One reason that this is so is that the majority of research on bilingual education has followed the S/F approach, and if one assumes that improved efficiency of school programs will solve problems of scholastic achievement, then one looks to instruction rather than to social factors for elucidation. On the other hand, if one assumes that formal education cannot cope with the consequences of social injustice or social inequity of which bilingual education in this country is one consequence, then Fishman's statement, (minus the hedge "it would appear") "that societal factors are not merely 'interesting' or 'enlightening' for an understanding of bilingual education but that they represent powerful forces governing the success and failure of such programs", (p. 25) points the major direction for research on bilingual education.

In this connection, a comment on Fishman's discussion of typologies of bilingual education is in order. Basically the typologies fall into two categories: 1) those which are "school oriented" and classify by program and program outcomes (Spolsky, 1974a; Fishman and Lovas, 1970; Fishman, 1976) and 2) those which are "context" oriented and classify by the social factors which contribute to the establishment of bilingual programs (Gaarder, n.d.; Schermerhorn, 1970; C.B. Paulston, 1975b; Spolsky, 1974b belongs here too although not discussed by Fishman); Mackey (1970) combines the two.

From a conflict perspective, it is the social factors which are seen to influence the "success or failure" of bilingual education programs, and hence it is clearly the derivation of "context" oriented typologies which hold the higher priority since they are more likely to help facilitate the identification of salient "social dimensions". Also, when revised and improved, "context" oriented typologies can be seen then to function at a higher level in the ladder of theoretical abstraction (Pelto, 1970) than do school oriented typologies, and this higher level

of abstraction accounts for the key weakness of the former: the difficulty in operationalizing key concepts.

The long range goals of the programs, seen from a conflict perspective, follow the definition of the problem: to maximize equity in the distribution of wealth, goods and services; hence the emphasis is no longer on efficiency but on equity. This necessarily leads to disagreement over the evaluation of bilingual education programs. In the following discussion of such evaluations, cited in parts from an earlier paper (1976),[14] I make no attempt at impartiality between the two paradigms; the discussion is clearly written from a conflict perspective (although I never thought of it in those terms at the time) and illustrative of the concerns, in this approach, with equity rather than efficiency.

> Like Tucker (who had complained about a lack of consensus over the goals of bilingual education), the National Institute of Education report stresses the need for aims and objectives to be 'clarified and made explicit so that progress toward the goal can be evaluated' (N.I.E., 1975:8). I don't share their concern. It is a (functionalist) technician's mistake to want consensual goals in order to assess the efficacy of bilingual education programs. The parents want access to goods and services for children with the least degree of damage to their sense of self, and they will vary in their interpretation of the best means to achieve that goal.
>
> It makes a lot more sense (than to use standardized tests on school achievement) to assess the bilingual education programs in the United States in terms of employment figures upon leaving school, figures on drug addiction and alcoholism, suicide rates and personality disorders, i.e. indicators which measure the social pathology which accompanies social injustice rather than in terms of language skills. Many of us see the bilingual education programs as an attempt to cope with such social injustice rather than as an attempt at efficient language teaching -- although the programs are that too. One of the best indicators with which to evaluate bilingual education programs are the drop-out rates. The drop-out rate for American Indians in Chicago public schools is 95%; in the bilingual-bicultural Little Big Horn High School in Chicago the drop-out rate in 1976 was 11% (New York Times, 1976:49), and I find that figure a much more meaningful indicator for evaluation of the bilingual program than any psychometric assessment of students' language skills (Paulston, 1976 :pp. 12-18).

The major assumption which underlies most work written within the conflict paradigm is that bilingual education programs can only be understood in terms of the relationship between the various interest

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14 Permission to quote, from the Center for Applied Linguistics, is gratefully acknowledged.

groups and that relationship is seen as basically one of a power conflict:

> The probability is overwhelming that when two groups with different cultural histories establish contacts that are regular rather than occasional or intermittent, one of the two groups will typically assume dominance over the other" (Schermerhorn, 1970:68).

Lenski's metaphor is suggestive of the difference in world view between the two paradigms: "where functionalists see human societies as social systems, conflict theorists see them as stages on which struggles for power and privilege take place" (1966:17). This viewpoint is most clearly seen in the militant/utopian writings on bilingualism and bilingual education, as in this editorial from Defensa:

> En otras palabras, los québécois se han dado cuenta por fin de que si no ponen un ¡hasta acá! acabarán siendo ciudadanos de tercera clase en su proprio país.
>
> Dicho de otra modo, el bilinguismo collectivo, impuesta por la dura necesidad de comer, es como una herida que no se cierra, y sangra y no deja de sangrar.
>
> Ya lo hemos dicho en otra ocasion: el dinero habla mas fuerte que la sintaxis. (Defensa, 1976:3).[15]

Clearly, the research designs on bilingual education from this perspective are not likely to consider instruction as the independent variable nor to consider issues of language as the most salient aspects of bilingual education. There is as yet no generally accepted framework of research[16] on bilingual education from a group conflict perspective, but Schermerhorn (1970) and my own paper (1975b), drawing on Schermerhorn, are increasingly being cited in the literature on bilingualism and bilingual education (Churchill, 1976; Cummins, 1976; Greenfield, 1976; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1976; Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). Since Schermerhorn is the most carefully considered design for research on ethnic relations,[17] I would like to briefly review it here, focusing on the designation of variables and their relationship.

To Schermerhorn, the central question in comparative research in ethnic relations is "what are the conditions that foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups into their environing societies?" By integration, he does not necessarily mean assimilation but rather an "active and coordinated compliance with the ongoing activities and objectives of

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15 "In other words, the québécois have finally realized that if they don't say 'That's enough' they will end up as third class citizens in their own country. Put in another way, group bilingualism, imposed by the harsh necessity to eat, is like a wound which will not close and bleeds and will not stop bleeding. As we have said before: money speaks louder than syntax." (My translation.)

16 Fishman's comment that the typologies are only "conceptually provocative" is as good a way as any to express that point.

17 (see next page)

the dominant group in that society" (1970:14); integration can include either assimilation/incorporation on the one hand or cultural pluralism on the other as long as the dominant and subordinate groups agree on the collective goals for the latter.

Schermerhorn sees three major causal factors in determining the nature of the relationship between ethnic groups and the process of integration. He posits as independent variables 1) the origin of the contact situation between "the subordinate ethnics and dominant groups, such as annexation, migration, and colonization," 2) "the degree of enclosure (institutional separation or segmentation) of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and association," and 3) "the degree of control exercised by dominant groups over access to scarce resources by subordinate groups in a given society" (1970:15).

Intervening or contextual cariables which will modify the effects of the independent variables are: 1) whether the dominant and subordinate groups agree on the goals for the latter, 2) whether the groups share common cultural and structural features, and 3) forms of institutional dominance, i.e. polity dominating economy or vice versa. "The dependent variables to be explained are the interweaving patterns of integration and conflict;" the first two deal with the relationship between groups and are correlative, the third operationalizes this relation: 1) "differential participation rates of subordinates in institutional and associational life (including rates of vertical mobility) as compared with rates for the dominant groups;" this is clearly the variable under which the institution of formal schooling and bilingual education programs are subsumed; 2) "the extent of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of both subordinate and dominant group members with the differential patterns of participation as they see them, together with accompanying ideologies and cultural values;" this is the variable which subsumes the attitudes and reactions of all those involved in bilingual education: students, parents, community leaders administrators, government officials, linguists and other researchers, etc. The discussions and controversy about transitional or maintenance bilingual programs would fall under this variable where the type of program is seen as a consequence of the other factors just outlined, not as a factor determining program outcomes; and 3) "overt or covert behavior patterns of subordinates and dominants indicative of conflict and/or harmonious relations; assessment in terms of continued integration" (1970:15-16).

How these concepts are to be operationalized is far from clear, and the major contribution of Schermerhorn's framework to research in bilingual education is to indicate the direction of research, to make clear the futility of continued research which ignores the social and historical factors which lead to the establishment of bilingual education. At this time, the majority of work within the conflict paradigm considers bilingual education programs as the dependent variable; presumably we need to work out a framework which will allow us to consider bilingual education as an intervening variable so the dependent variables to be explained can become both scholastic achievement and social integration. It remains to be demonstrated that there is no relationship

17 Fishman makes the point that "unlike Spolsky and Paulston, Gaarder recognizes that bilingual education does not inevitably need to be in an inter-ethnic context" (1976:21). Gaarder carefully distinguishes between elite and group bilingualism, and the intra-group bilingualism he cites is typically elite. It is understandable that those writing from a group conflict perspective are not particularly interested in intra-group elite bilingualism, and I myself make the point carefully to exclude upper class bilingual education from my discussions, but this does not mean that I don't recognize its existence, as Spolsky of course does too. We are both, after all, representative of elite bilingualism which does not result from an inter-ethnic context.

between the latter two variables in bilingual education; there may well be.

Integration, i.e. assimilation or cultural pluralism, as a dependent variable can be operationalized in terms of language maintenance and language shift. Kjolseth's early work[18] on Title VII bilingual education programs, written from a group conflict perspective, considered "the social consequences of particular bilingual education strategies upon the changing patterns of community language use" (1972:116). Kjolseth echoes Gaarder's concern that the bilingual programs (because they are more efficient for a number of reasons in teaching the children English) may be a one way bridge to English and complete language shift, although he looks favorably on bilingualism and cultural pluralism in contrast to Gaarder:

> Jactarse de ser un país bilingüe en estas condiciones es como vanagloriarse de ser tuberculoso. Y si no digo canceroso es porque, según dicen, el cáncer no tiene curación y la tuberculosis sí la tiene (Gaarder, 1975:7).[19]

The tuberculosis-cure for group bilingualism, from Gaarder's view, is not to learn the dominant language, not to learn English. It is an extreme and utopian position, but nevertheless it is against this background of bilingual education and language shift that the controversy regarding transitional vs. maintenance programs is best interpreted.

At a conference, as reported in Wassaja: A National Newspaper of Indian America, one participant (Morris) raised the issues of whether Title VII programs should

> provide a transitional bilingual program model or a maintenance bilingual program.
>
> The maintenance program provides assistance to students, with an underlying premise that a child's native language and culture is a resource that needs to be capitalized upon so as to provide the maximum opportunity for students to develop their full potential, said Morris.
>
> Finally, Morris criticized the Title VII program, saying its regulations call for 'transitional bilingual program models which function on the premise of remedial programs for bilingual, non-and-limited English speaking students alone' (1977:15).

The proponents of maintenance programs favor cultural pluralism and ethnic diversity and tend to see the world in terms of conflict and competition between interest groups. Recent development has seen mobilization along ethnic boundaries as one strategy in competition for rewards (Elazar and Friedman, 1976), and maintenance of the ethnic language becomes a very visible aspect of such mobilization. Language shift remains a phenomenon which is poorly understood (Fishman, 1966; Lieberson et al., 1975), and the relationship between bilingual education and language maintenance and shift is no better understood today than when Kjolseth pointed out in 1970 "that there is not a single

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18 written in 1970.

19 "To boast about being a bilingual country under these conditions is like taking pride in having tuberculosis. And if I don't say cancer it is because as they say, cancer doesn't have a cure but tuberculosis does." (My translation.)

study planned to determine program effects upon community diglossia" (1972:117). Fishman (1976:21) is right in pointing out the seriousness of Gaarder's argument about the consequences of bilingual education for marked populations; we especially need to investigate the social factors which influence bilingual programs in contributing to language maintenance and shift. As a matter of fact, we don't even know whether bilingual education influences language maintenance or shift in any significant way.[20]

An important question in studies written from a conflict perspective is cui bono?, 'who stands to gain?' (Gramsci, 1957), where "gain" can be operationalized as an indicator of which group benefits in the power struggle. The literature on bilingual education is noticeable for the almost complete absence of such questions. The pious assumption is of course that the children are the ones who stand to gain, with indicators like standardized test scores on school achievement and self-concept. I have discussed other indicators like suicide rates and school attendance figures.

Other obvious indicators are budget allocations and salary schedules. The only studies I know which consider the issue of salaries in bilingual education are Spolsky's: "(the economic) impact on a local poor community cannot be underestimated" (1974b:57).

> In the Navajo situation, the most important outcome of bilingual education is probably related to changes in the economic and political situation. At the moment, the 53,000 Navajo students in school, 90% of whom speak Navajo, are taught by 2600 teachers, only 100 of whom speak Navajo. A decision to establish bilingual education, even a transitional variety for the first three grades, sets up a need for a thousand Navajo speaking teachers. Whatever effects this may have on the educational or linguistic situation, it is clear that it immediately provides jobs within the community for a sizeable group of people. A thousand well-paying jobs on the reservation for Navajos would lead to a greater income not just for the teachers themselves but for the community as a whole and would immediately establish within the community a well-paid middle class whose potential influence on political development of the Navajo Nation is obvious. Whatever may then be the expressed goals of a bilingual education program, it is probable that its major effect will be in this area (1974a:23-24).

It is against this background that the controversy and discussions about ESL programs vs. BE programs is best understood, and the attempts to carry out those discussions at a programmatic level of language teaching methodology (see the 1976 issues of The TESOL Quarterly and

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20 My guess is that at most, bilingual programs are intervening variables in a situation of language maintenance or shift. It is not clear to me whether Kjolseth sees them as independent or intervening variables.

The Linguistic Reporter) only confuse the basic issue[21] which is one of competition for scarce jobs:

> The threat of bilingual education is thus a direct economic one to the present teachers and administrators. However much they may sympathize with a bilingual education program, and however they may agree on an intellectual level with its logic and its goals, they cannot for long remain unaware that their own jobs are at stake. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that bilingual programs often face opposition from teachers and administrators (Spolsky, 1974b: 54).

Hill-Burnett's comment that the key to access to a position lies with "the answer to the question of who has the authority to judge whether the performance meets the standards" then becomes of crucial interest since it is a given that all groups are self-seeking and define "performance" in terms of furthering their own interests. There is no research on "who has the authority" in bilingual education, on the ideology and ethnic identification[22] of administrators who control access to positions. It would seem that who holds control over such "authority" will have important implications in the definitions of goals, implementations of programs, and evaluation of outcomes, yet it is a question we have not asked. It is true that ethnic groups tend to see the necessity of community control over programs as axiomatic:

> We call upon city, state, and Federal institutions . . . to insure that these programs are controlled by and responsive to the needs of Latino residents (Sevilla-Casas et al., 1973).

> These [Cultural Education] Centres must be Indian controlled and operated, in view of the fact that they are established for Indian purposes and use (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972:17).

Nevertheless, it is an issue which remains uninvestigated in formal research and one which is probably of extreme importance in explaining and predicting phenomena in bilingual education.

Whoever else gains from bilingual education, the children certainly do too, and the clearest evidence we have in the form of empirical research on language skills comes from the data on children from the Finnish working class migrant population in Sweden. There is no research here which parallels these studies, and to my mind such research is urgent, as findings of this nature constitute compelling arguments for bilingual education to S/F and conflict theorists alike. The Scandinavian data are particularly significant in that both countries are highly developed

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21 Clearly, it is possible to discuss ESL and BE programs in terms of language teaching methods and techniques, and I often do so myself. Rather, my point is that the source of the strife and acrimony which accompany these discussions has its origin, not in disagreement over methodology, but rather in the vested interests of the two groups, most clearly seen in the struggle for access to jobs and rewards.

22 It needs to be pointed out that ethnic identification is not isomorphic with genetic background. Some claim or are granted honorary membership in (cont...)

industrialized modern societies with school achievement norms both for children in Sweden and Finland. In addition, they are societies where problems of health-care, diet, and unemployment are not intervening variables. Such conditions are often cited as contributory factors in the lack of school achievement by minority children.

In the UNESCO report,[23] Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa report on a study in which 687 Finnish students in Swedish schools, divided among 171 classes, were tested (1976:48).

> The purpose of the study was to determine the linguistic level and development in both their mother tongue and Swedish of Finnish migrant children attending Swedish comprehensive school. Above all, attention was paid to the interdependence between skills in the mother tongue and Swedish, i.e. the hypothesis was tested that those who have best preserved their mother tongue are also best in Swedish. Partly related to this question the significance of the age of which the child moved to Sweden was also determined. Do those who received a firm grounding in their mother tongue by attending school in Finland have a better chance of learning Swedish than those who moved to Sweden as pre-schoolers?
>
> A second important problem is the achievement of Finnish pupils in Swedish language schools. How do Finnish migrant pupils do in theoretical and what might be called practical subjects? Does one's skill in the mother tongue have any effect on the grade given in a Swedish-language school or on other school achievement?

On all non-verbal ability factors the migrant children tested out at normal or slightly above normal level, i.e. they consistently test out at a normal level of intelligence; between verbal and non-verbal factors, however, there is an "enormous gap". "During the first 4-5 years of school the Finnish migrant pupils . . . remained at a level which in Finland had fewer than 10% of the poorest pupils judged in verbal tests." In other words, their Finnish is poor (p. 53) and so is their Swedish where "the average level Finnish pupil had a test point score in Swedish on a level at which about 10% of the poorest Swedish pupils were placed" (p. 54).

The language development data are supported by findings from a study by Särkelä and Kuusinen (1976) who tested 182 subjects in Sweden with a rural control group in Finland. The migrant children were slightly more above average as measured by the non-verbal Raven intelligence test.

> On the other hand, the psycholinguistic ages determined by the ITPA (Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities) show that in their command of the Finnish language the

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22 (cont...) ethnic groups, like Gaarder who is editor of Defensa, while others are perfectly assimilated to Anglo values in spite of their ethnic background of which only their surname bears evidence. It has been my experience that conservative schoolboards and the like tend to favor the latter as administrators in bilingual education.

23 The discussion of this report is taken in part from C.B. Paulston (1976), and I am grateful to the Centre for Applied Linguistics for permission to quote.

> pupils in Finnish-language classes in Sweden were on average 2.5-3 years behind the normal Finnish level and the Finnish pupils in Swedish-language classes were 3-4 years behind the normal Finnish level (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976:55).

In general Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa found that the children's rate of improvement in Swedish was not as fast as the regression in the mother tongue. Although ability factors influenced the learning of Swedish, it is very clear "that the better a pupil has preserved his mother tongue, the better are his prerequisites for learning the second language" (p. 78). Overwhelmingly, the better a student knew Finnish (as a function of having attended school for several years in Finland), the better he learned Swedish. An examination of language skills of siblings found that those who moved from Finland at an average age of 10 have preserved an almost normal Finnish language level and they also approach the normal level in Swedish of Swedish pupils. Those who moved at the age of twelve also achieve language skills comparable to those of the Swedes although learning the language takes place more slowly. The children who moved under the age of six or who were born in Sweden do not do as well. Their Swedish language development "often stops at the age of about twelve, evidently because of their poor grounding in the mother tongue" (p. 75). Worst off are the pupils who were 7-8 when they moved to Sweden. "The verbal development of these children, who moved just after school was beginning, (children begin school at seven in Sweden) underwent serious disturbance after the move. This also has a detrimental effect on learning Swedish" (p. 75). The evidence is perfectly clear that mother tongue development facilitates the learning of the second language, and there are serious implications that without such development neither language may be learned well, resulting in semi-lingualism.

In an examination of the school achievement of the Finnish students, it was found that they did relatively well in mathematics, in the upper level almost as well as their Swedish classmates. But more interestingly,

> The Finnish-language skills shown by the test results are fairly closely connected with the grade in mathematics. In the upper level, Finnish seems to be even more important for achievement in mathematics than Swedish -- in spite of the fact that mathematics, too, is taught in Swedish. This result supports the concept that the abstraction level of the mother tongue is important for mastering the conceptual operations connected with mathematics . . . Subjects such as biology, chemistry and physics also require conceptual thinking, and in these subjects migrant children with a good mastery of their mother tongue succeeded significantly better than those who knew their mother tongue poorly (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976:69).

The Canadian data from Manitoba on French speaking children also support the Finnish data (Hébert, et al., 1976). Hébert et al. also found that the pupils who did better in French, their mother tongue,

also did better in English and in other academic courses. Intelligence, socio-economic level and motivation were controlled for in this study, so they could not be factors which influenced the findings. The evidence for the importance of mother tongue development seems clear, and one would wish for similar research in the United States. Basically structural/functionalist in research design, the Finnish studies nevertheless are motivated by the same concerns which are typical of a group conflict orientation. Skutnabb-Kangas' argument, based on her data, that it is highly functional within a capitalist system to withhold bilingual education from children who need it, is clearly written from a conflict perspective:

> In this way the educational system contributes to ensure the perpetuation of a class society. Educational systems in Western industrial countries function as factors which preserve the social structure of society. As the educational system functions in the interests of the majority, and as the majority even in the future will need workers at the assembly lines, the educational system reproduces the immigrants' work and social structure, even when the system's official objective is to give the migrant children the same possibilities which the children in the receiver (host) country have. From this point of view one can understand the function of the migrant children's semilingualism as a factor which transfers and increases social inegality (1976:35, my translation).

The Finnish UNESCO report is interesting, then, in that its authors are able to combine the ideology and concerns of group conflict theorists with a research design typical of S/F research. It is in fact one of the few attempts we have of a dialectical orientation in research of bilingual education.

B. Cultural Revival and Social Movement Theory

> The literature on culture change and culture conflict applied to educational change is exceedingly sparse. It may be recalled that functional theory assumes a high degree of normative consensus across social systems, while conflict theory posits normative consensus or an ethos shared across major social groups, i.e., the working class, the middle class, and conflict between classes. Cultural revitalization-theory, in contrast, focuses not on social classes but, according to Wallace (1956), on "deliberate organized conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." Such efforts are viewed as constantly recurring phenomena, a type of culture-creating activity in collective efforts of varying size which seeks social and cultural change that may take place at local or national levels (R. G. Paulston, 1976:30).

i. Culture change.

The literature on culture change applied to bilingual education is even sparser, and we do not know what effect bilingual education may have on the culture of ethnic groups. One obvious resource of ethnic groups, which can be used in stressing ethnic awareness and identity of the members, is the mother tongue. With the recent trend toward ethnic mobilization, we see both language maintenance programs and language revival programs in which the mother tongue serves to reinforce the ethnic boundaries of the group (Barth, 1969; Spolsky, 1974b).

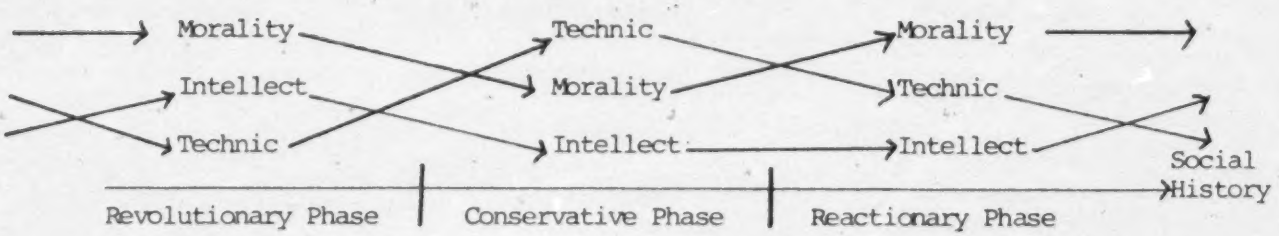
The most extreme form of ethnic mobilization occurs in what Wallace has termed revitalization movements, "deliberate, organized, conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1966:265). For Wallace, this process involves a cultural transformation of the group. For the purposes of this paper, I will extend the term to include ethnic revival movements as well (which may not be involved in a cultural transformation) since Wallace's concept of "revolutionary phase" (1975:22-23) applies to both movements.

Wallace (1975) discusses the learning priorities of the two types of society:

> What a man is expected to do in his life will, in part, depend on whether he lives in a revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary society. And what he is expected to do determines what he is expected to learn (1975:21).

He outlines the following model of learning priorities:

Learning Priorities in Revolutionary, Conservative, and Reactionary Societies.



(Wallace 1975:26)

Wallace assigns very specific meanings to the terms technic, morality and intellect. By technic he refers to learning as a process of "reliability increase of action" through stimulus, reinforcement and motivation; technic is learning "how to." Morality, on the other hand, stresses "what." Morality concerns one particular kind of socially approved value:

> This kind of value is the conception that one's own behaviour, as well as the behaviour of others, should not merely take into consideration the attitude of the community, but should actively advance, or at least not retard, its welfare (1975:18).

Although most commonly practiced in the humble endurance of discomfort by inconspicuous people, it is "most conspicuously exemplified by such heroic actions as the soldier's throwing himself on a handgrenade in order to smother the blast and save his buddies" (1975:18). The criterion for morality is its potential for sacrifice, and all ethnic groups in the revolutionary phase have sacrificial heroes as leaders, i.e. leaders who are willing to risk freedom or life for the cause; Cesar Chavez and La Causa is a good example.

Groups undergoing a revolutionary phase will always stress moral learning, and conflicts are certain to arise when a revitalization movement takes place within a conservative society where technic has the highest learning priority, i.e. "in conservative societies, schools prepare people not for sacrifice but for jobs" (R.G. Paulston, 1972:478). Language skills in the official language must be seen as an aspect of technic - an aspect of preparation for jobs. The mother tongue, on the other hand, is an aspect of moral learning, reaffirming the solidarity and cultural uniqueness of the ethnic group, underscoring the need to teach the moral values of good and evil, right and wrong, the values of the old gods, in the language in which those values were originally transmitted. Reaffirmation of cultural values is frequently a part of the moral teaching, especially among ethnic groups who prior to the revitalization movement have been taught by the dominant group to have nothing but contempt for their own culture.

The conflict over learning priorities explains the extreme importance of control over local educational institutions, without which the ethnic group will not be able to implement its priorities. I have frequently heard commented among my colleagues that the best bilingual schools are those that are under community control -- be it Navajo or Chicano. I am not certain what "best" means in this connection. In my discussion of the Erickson report (1969) in an earlier paper, I pointed out that "rhetoric about cultural pluralism accounts for little if the objectives are not implemented" (1975a:25); the community-run Navajo school, as measured by the achievement test batteries from the California Test Bureau, was markedly inferior to the government-run school academically. I was at the time only interested in investigating the learning of English language skills, but even so that statement -- and the evaluation itself -- shows our typical tendency to assess and evaluate the schooling of groups undergoing a revitalization movement with moral learning as the priority in terms of the standards of the conservative society -- the standards of technique.

The function of bilingual education in ethnic revival movements is obviously an important one, but one we know very little about. A group conflict perspective is not helpful in trying to account for culture-change, as this theory focuses on conflict between the various groups. Wallace's framework allows us to focus on change within the group as it becomes "revitalized," but we need to explore the role of language within such revitalization movements, especially the function of language in the mechanism of ethnic boundary maintenance.

ii. Culture conflict.

The literature on culture conflict applied to bilingual education at the national level is also exceedingly sparse, but a number of studies exist at the programmatic level. These studies of culture conflict differ from group conflict studies in that the latter tend to focus on conflict which is caused by structured inequality, i.e. they focus on aspects of social structure, of major institutional activities of society, like economic and political life. The studies on culture conflict, on the other hand, tend to be ethnographic in nature and focus on conflict which is caused by an incomplete knowledge and understanding of the other group's culture as its norms and values are expressed in overt behavior.

Hymes (1970) sketches a general theoretical framework for such research. Culture conflict in communication is interpreted as:

> interference not only between phonolologies and grammars, but also between norms of interaction and interpretation of speech . . . The notion 'ways of speaking' calls particular attention to the fact that members of a speech community have a knowledge such that speech is interpretable as pertaining to one or another genre, and as instancing one or another speech act and event (p. 74).

Susan Philips used this framework in her work on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in accounting for the children's school failure. The children's native ways of speaking and strategies for learning are very different from those of the Anglo school's, and consequently

> Indian children fail to participate verbally in the classroom interaction because the social conditions for participation to which they have become accustomed in the Indian community are lacking . . . Educators cannot assume that because Indian children (or children from other cultural backgrounds than that which is implicit in American classrooms) speak English, or are taught it in school, that they have also assimilated all of the sociolinguistic rules underlying interaction in classrooms and other non-Indian social situations where English is spoken (Philips, 1970:95).

Culture conflict or interference in the classroom is a topic of immense importance in teacher training, and much of this literature is directed at the teacher (Aarons et al., 1969; Abrahams and Troike, 1972; Burger, 1971; Cazden et al., 1972; Spolsky, 1972; Turner, 1973). The assumption which underlies these studies is that once the teacher understands that the children function with other sociolinguistic rules, with other rules of communicative competence, he will adjust his ways and culture interference in the classroom will be minimized. Philips' comment is unusual in this regard:

> The teachers who make these adjustments, and not all do, are sensitive to the inclinations of their students and want to teach them through means to which

> they most readily adapt. However, by doing so, they are avoiding teaching the Indian children how to communicate in precisely those contexts in which they are least able, and most need to learn how to communicate if they are to do well in school (Philips, 1970: 88).

She ends her paper by saying that the children must be taught "the rules for appropriate speech usage," i.e. that they must be taught the ways of speaking, acceptable to the dominant culture. This is a troublesome matter and an issue about which we know virtually nothing. In spite of all the rhetoric about bilingual/bicultural education I don't know of any research on the Title VII programs which deals with the issue of bicultural teaching. To the degree that the bicultural component of Title VII programs is discussed, this discussion invariably deals with aspects of the home culture of the children, the culture whose sociolinguistic rules the children already know. I know of no work on attempts to teach the children Anglo culture, yet Philips holds such teaching crucial for the scholastic success of the children, and she may be right. The French certainly think so:

> If these children are going to live in France, it would be a bad thing and not conducive to good integration to leave them in contact with staff from their countries of origin, since these children already have a strong tendency to follow their native customs so that there is a danger of counter-adaptation (Council of Europe, 1976:31).

C. Utopian Perspectives.

> Anarchistic and utopian theories of social change share the Marxian goal of radical social transformation, and the concern of cultural revival and revitalization movements for individual renewal. In marked contrast to all other previously noted theories seeking to explain and predict educational reform processes, they rarely bother to validate their call to reform with the findings and methods of social science, or to put their theory to practice (Idenberg, 1974). The utopians' often insightful critiques of existing inequalities and "evils" in education may serve to provoke impassioned discussion (Rusk, 1971; **Graubard, 1972; Marin, et al.**, 1975), but utopian analysis rarely takes into account how existing oppressive power relationships and lack of tolerance for "deviance" or change in any given social setting will influence reform efforts of whatever scope or magnitude (....**Freire**, 1971).
>
> Typically the utopians begin with a critical analysis of socio-educational reality and rather quickly wind up in a dream world (R. G. Paulston, 1976:33-34).

Because of the provocative nature of their work, we are all familiar with names like Goodman (1960) and Illich (1971), but none of these utopian theories have been used in any serious attempts to understand the phenomena of bilingual education.

However, the literature on bilingual education abounds with its own utopian statements which tend to fall into three categories: romantic/utopian, militant/utopian or visionary/utopian.

A very large share of the literature tends to romanticize what bilingual education is and can do:

> A new humanism in education has very quickly brought revolutionary changes to the public school systems of the United States . . . The remarkable dispatch with which bilingual educational projects have been implemented in this country during the past year bespeaks the altruism and idealism of teachers and administrators who have activated them. For in order to institute these programs, it has been necessary for the teachers themselves to write and develop their own teaching materials, translate textbooks, . . . (Byrd, 1974:39).

"La verdad es que la mayoría de los programas bilingües andan cojeando" 'The truth is that the majority of the bilingual programs only limp along' (Pascual, 1976:5). Pascual's comment is based on hundreds of classroom visits, and the discrepancy between the reality of the "salones de clase" where the children learn to read from experience charts -- "endless charts prepared by aides or teachers who guess at the orthography or rather at times invent it" (p. 6; my translation) and the view of altruistic teachers in pursuit of a new humanism is not very helpful. Bilingual education is not a search for the Holy Grail, and unrealistic expectations only harm its future development.

How helpful the militant/utopian statements on bilingual education are is a question which deserves to be studied in the context of ethnic mobilization. It may be simplistic to write off such statements as "bellas palabras" and we ought to know something of the process by which voters organize along ethnic boundaries and gain control of local school-boards. The following citation directed to Mayor Daley and the Chicago City Council is clearly a political document:

> Our conference brought together Latinos in Chicago who have fought to establish bilingual-bicultural human service programs that are responsive to and controlled by the Latino community.
>
> These programs were established both through battles with established institutions and by setting up alternative facilities which bypassed irrelevant institutional services. Each of these programs is staffed and controlled by Latino community residents.
>
> These bilingual-bicultural programs are desperately fighting to stem the tide of oppression by Anglo society and institutions as seen in an 80% drop-out rate, poverty and urban renewal.

> However, these programs are not enough. We call upon city, state, and Federal institutions:
>
> 1. To allocate a fair share of its resources to bilingual-bicultural Latino programs.
>
> 2. To insure that these programs are controlled by and responsive to the needs of Latino residents.
>
> 3. To see to it that Anglo institutions stop pressuring Latinos to become "Americanized" but recognize that our country can be strengthened by many different languages and cultures.
>
> 4. To insure that institutions serving Latinos make significant changes in their programs, resources and staff so that they can more effectively serve our people.
> (Sevilla-Casas et al., 1973).

But we know nothing from any kind of organized research efforts about the effect of this and similar documents. Nor do we know very much about mainstream tolerance for such cultural "deviance," but clearly the future of bilingual education in the United States is dependent upon such tolerance. An editorial in the New York Times gave us a recent indication of how far one can expect such tolerance:

> In a recent editorial on bilingual education, we expressed concern over a growing tendency to misuse an essentially sound pedagogical tool toward the wrong educational and political ends. Specifically, we argued that the maintenance of non-English speaking enclaves points the road to "cultural, economic, and political divisiveness." . . . There are clearly some who view non-English speaking enclaves as attractive bases from which to enhance their own political power. Whatever short-term political pressures might be gained from such enclaves, those who in the process are denied speedy entry into the English-speaking mainstream are saddled with persistent economic and political disadvantages. . . . But none of these goals causes us to modify our position that the purpose of bilingual education must be "to create English-speaking Americans with the least possible delay" (December 17, 1976:A26).

Finally, it should be noted that utopian writings on bilingual education usually are atheoretical in nature and so provide us with data on the course of bilingual education rather than with the means toward further understanding. The issues raised in the Chicago document and in the Times editorial lend themselves best to interpretation from a group conflict perspective. What utopian writings do best is to sketch a vision and to reaffirm good will of decent men as in these words, written in 1912 by the President of the University of New Mexico:

> I make no doubt that once the people of this State realize the importance of the [Spanish language] issue and the vast results which may accrue from it, both for State and Nation, a movement could be set on foot which, with representation properly made to the chief executive and the national legislature, would secure for New Mexico a federal appropriation sufficient to fund and endow for many years to come, a Spanish American College for the purpose of developing and utilizing to the utmost the inheritance of our fellow citizens in the Spanish language. While a proposal of this sort, considered as a mere act of tardy justice to a long neglected people, might fail of effect, yet the national advantage secured thereby would assuredly win sympathy and support for the plan (Gray, 1912:6).

CONCLUSION

I have attempted in this paper to show that a discussion of the "theoretical and programmatic dimensions of bilingual education" must first take into account an analysis of the various theoretical frameworks which apply to bilingual education. Not only the formal research design but also the alternative assumptions, goals and strategies follow from the theoretical perspective. An exploration, then, of the range of various theoretical perspectives on bilingual education will allow:

1) an identification of the world view and ideological orientation which is inherent within each theoretical perspective. Science is not value free, and by being able to recognize the assumptions implicit in work characteristic of specific theoretical orientations, one can better deal with such values;

2) an examination of alternative questions and an understanding of the theoretical implications which the selection of particular questions entails;

3) and finally, which remains to be done, the development of a dialectical research perspective in bilingual education, which would help specify the theoretical approach most likely to be fruitful in answering questions of a specified nature.

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Appendix A

RELATIONS BETWEEN THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE/"REFORM"

Social Change Paradigms	"Theories"	Illustrative Linked Assumptions Concerning Educational-Change Potentials and Processes: Preconditions for Educational Change	Rationales for Educational Change	Scope and Process of Educational Change	Major Outcomes Sought
Equilibrium	Evolutionary	State of evolutionary readiness	Pressure to move to an evolutionary stage	Incremental and adaptive; "natural history" approach	New stage of institutional evolutional adaptation
	Neo-Evolutionary	Satisfactory completion of earlier stages	Required to support "national modernization" efforts	"Institution building" using Western models and technical assistance	New "higher" state of education and social differentiation/specialization
	Structural-Functionist	Altered functional and structural requisites	Social system need provoking an educational response; exogenous threats	Incremental adjustment of existing institutions, occasionally major	Continued "homeostatis" or "moving" equilibrium; "human capital" and national "development"
	Systems	Technical expertise in "systems management." "Rational decision making" and "needs assessment"	Need for greater efficiency in system's operation and goal achievement; i.e. response to a system "malfunction"	Innovative "problem solving" in existing systems: i.e. "Research and Development approach"	Improved "efficiency" re cost-benefits; adoption of innovations

(continued)

Appendix A (continued)

RELATIONS BETWEEN THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE/"REFORM"

Social Change Paradigms	"Theories"	Illustrative Linked Assumptions Concerning Educational-Change Potentials and Processes: Preconditions for Educational Change	Rationales for Educational Change	Scope and Process of Educational Change	Major Outcomes Sought
Conflict	Marxian	Elite's awareness of need for change, or shift of power to socialist rulers and educational reformers	To adjust correspondence between social relations of production and social relations of schooling	Adjustive incremental following social mutations or radical restructuring with Marxist predominance	Formation of integrated workers, i.e. the new "Socialist Man"
	Group Conflict	Increased political power and political awareness of working class	Demands for social justice and social equality	Large-scale national reforms through "democratic" institutions and processes	Eliminate "educational privilege" and "elitism"; create a more equalitarian society
	Cultural Revitalization	Rise of a collective effort to revive or create "a new culture." Social tolerance for "deviant" normative movements and their educational programs	Rejection of conventional schooling as forced acculturation. Education needed to support advance toward movement goals	Creation of alternative schools or educational settings. If movement captures polity, radical change in national educational ideology and structure	Inculcate new normative system. Meet movement's recruitment, training, and solidarity needs
	Anarchistic Utopian	Creation of supportive settings; growth of critical consciousness; social pluralism	Free man from institutional and social constraints. Enhance creativity need for "life-long learning"	Isolated "freeing up" of existing programs and institutions, or create new learning modes and settings, i.e. a "learning society"	Self-renewal and participation. Local control of resources and community; elimination of exploitation and alienation

(Source: R.G. Paulston, 1976:vi-vii)

Appendix B

A PROCESS MODEL SUGGESTED FOR CASE STUDY ANALYSIS/EVALUATION OF NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL-REFORM EFFORTS

Explicit and Implicit Research Decisions in Case Analysis

Reform Stages

1. Identification of arguments re: need for change in socioeconomic or cultural contexts	2. Diagnosis of implications for change in educational system and in contextual relations	3. Elaboration of "treatment," i.e. planning alternatives in educational structures	4. Evaluation of normative, structural and behavioral changes sought, and unexpected outcomes
What values, ideology, i.e., normative premises? Who advocates? Who rejects? etc.	What social and educational change theory and biases? Whose expertise? Who attempts to discredit? etc.	How determined and justified re: 1 and 2? Who controls implementation? Who obstructs? etc.	What criteria? Whose goals? How determined? Who "wins"? Who "loses"? Relations to 1 and 2? etc. etc.

(Source: R.G. Paulston, 1976:46)